1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[42] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[43] In this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[44] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[45] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[46]

Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[42] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[43] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[44] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[45] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[46] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men. They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[a] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *lonko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a *título de merced* on behalf of his group, the position of *lonko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[b]

[a] Examples of the style in which *lonkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[b] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.